

Message Text

SECRET

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ACTION ACDA-19

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 AECE-00

AEC-11 AF-10 ARA-16 CIAE-00 EA-11 EUR-25 PM-07 H-03

INR-10 IO-14 L-03 NASA-04 NEA-10 NSAE-00 NSC-10

SPC-03 PA-04 PRS-01 RSC-01 SCI-06 SS-20 SAJ-01 DRC-01

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TO USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS IMMEDIATE

INFO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 617

SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 VIENNA 9511

FROM US REP MBFR

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR: ALLIED FRAMEWORK PROPOSAL

PLEASE PASS THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE TO NATO SITCEN:

NATO SITCEN PLEASE PASS FOLLOWING MESSAGE URGENTLY TO

SECGEN, INTERNATIONAL STAFF, ATTENTION MR. HAAS,

CHMILCOM AND SACEUR. INTERNAL DISTRIBUTION

TO PERMREPS AND IMMEDIATE RETRANSMISSION NATOWIDE

TO CAPITALS REQUESTED.

NATO SECRET FOR NATO ADDRESSEES REPEATE NATO SECRET

SUBJECT: OUTLINE OF PROPOSALS

FROM CHAIRMAN AD HOC GROUP VIENNA FOR SECRETARY GENERAL NATO

1. THE AD HOC GROUP AGREES THAT, ON TACTICAL GROUNDS, IT WOULD BE MOST DESIRABLE TO TABLE THE ALLIED FRAMEWORK PROPOSAL THE SUGGESTED TEXT OF WHICH FOLLOWS, IN PLENARY SESSION ON NOVEMBER 22.

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2. THE EAST TABLED ITS REDUCTION PROPOSAL ON NOVEMBER 8. SINCE

THEN,
BOTH IN PLENARY SESSIONS AND IN INFORMAL CONTACTS, THE EAST HAS
INSISTED THAT THE ALLIED ADDRESS ITS PROPOSAL. THE ALLIES HAVE
AVOIDED DOING SO, LEST THEY BE DRAWN INTO NEGOTIATION ON THE BASIS OF
THE EASTERN PROPOSAL. THE POSITION IS BECOMING INCREASINGLY
DIFFICULT TO MAINTAIN WITHOUT GIVING THE EAST GROUNDS FOR CHARGING
THAT THE ALLIES ARE STALLING THE NEGOTIATIONS.

3. MOREOVER, IN THE LAST FEW DAYS, THE EAST HAS
BEGUN LEAKING DETAILS OF ITS PROPOSAL TO THE PRESS. FURTHER SUCH
LEAKAGE IS TO BE EXPECTED.

4. IT IS IMPORTANT, THEREFORE, THAT THE ALLIES ACT NOW TO PLACE
THEMSELVES IN THE STRONGEST POSSIBLE POSITION VIS-A-VIS BOTH THE
EAST AND WESTERN PUBLIC OPINION BY TABLING THEIR PROPOSAL, AND THUS
MAINTAINING THEIR INITIATIVE IN THE NEGOTIATIONS.

5. THE FOLLOWING TEXT, CONFORMING TO THE GUIDANCE CONTAINED IN
CM(73)83, HAS BEEN WORKED OUT AND AGREED WITHIN THE AD HOC GROUP. IT
WOULD BE PRESENTED TO THE EAST IN MEMORANDUM FORM, CONTAINING BOTH
THE ESSENCE AND THE BASIC RATIONALE OF THE ALLIED PROPOSAL.

6. THE GROUP BELIEVES THE SEQUENCE OF PRESENTATION CONTAINED IN
THE PAPER IS LOGICAL AND MAKES THE STRONGEST CASE FOR THE ALLIED
POSITION. IN PARTICULAR, ASSOCIATED MEASURES ARE PRESENTED ON
CONJUNCTION WITH THE REDUCTIONS WITH WHICH THEY ARE LOGICALLY
ASSOCIATED. THIS CONFORMS TO THE ORDER AND LANGUAGE OF THE
AGREED COMMUNIQUE ON "ASSOCIATED MEASURES," THUS PLACING THE ALLIES
IN THE BEST POSITION TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THE COMMUNIQUE
FORMULATION. NONETHELESS, THE LANGUAGE ON THIS POINT IN THE
PRESENT TEXT IS DRAFTED TO GIVE THE ALLIES FLEXIBILITY IN TABLING
STABILIZING MEASURES AT A TIME OF THEIR CHOICE.

7. THE TEXT IS SUBMITTED TO THE COUNCIL FOR ITS FINAL APPROVAL.

BEGIN TEXT:

OUTLINE OF PROPOSALS

PRESENTED ONBY BELGIUM,
CANADA, THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY,
LUXEMBOURG, THE NETHERLANDS, THE UNITED
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KINGDOM AND THE UNITED STATES.

IT IS PROPOSED THAT THE AGREEMENT CONSIST OF THE FOLLOWING
ELEMENTS:

1. AREA

THE REDUCTION AREA SHOULD COMPRISE THE TERRITORIES OF BELGIUM,
CZECHSLOVAKIA, THE GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC, THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC

OF GERMANY, LUXEMBOURG, THE NETHERLANDS AND POLAND.

THE QUESTION OF HOW AND TO WHAT EXTENT HUNGARY WILL BE CINLUDED IN FUTURE DECISIONS, AGREEMENTS OR MEASURES REMAINS TO BE EXAMINED AND DECIDED.

2. FORCES TO BE REDUCED

REDUCTIONS SHOULD BE MADE IN THE GROUND FORCES OF THE TWO SIDES IN CENTRAL EUROPE.

THESE FORCES CONSTITUTE THE LARGEST AND MOST SIGNIFICANT MILITARY ELEMENT IN THE REDUCTION AREA. WITHOUT GROUND FORCES TERRITORY CAN BE NEITHER SEIZED NOR HELD. REDUCING GROUND FORCES WILL MAKE IT POSSIBLE TO DEAL MOST EFFECTIVELY WITH THE COMPLEX SUBJECT MATTER.

GROUND FORCES REDUCTIONS SHOULD BE DESIGNED TO ELIMINATE, REDUCE, OR OFFSET THE MAJOR DISPARITIES IN MANPOWER, CHARACTERISTICS OF FORCES AND GEOGRAPHY WHICH MAKE FOR INSTABILITY IN THE EXISTING SITUATION. THESE DISPARITIES ARE SO GREAT THAT EQUITY AND THE CRITERION OF UNDIMINISHED SECURITY REQUIRE THAT THEY SHOULD BE TAKEN INTO FULL ACCOUNT.

3. COMMON CEILING

THE ULTIMATE GOAL OF THE NEGOTIATIONS SHOULD BE THE ESTABLISHMENT OF APPROXIMATE PARITY BETWEEN THE TWO SIDES, IN THE FORM OF A COMMON CEILING FOR OVERALL GROUND FORCE MANPOWER ON EACH SIDE IN THE REDUCTION AREA, TAKING INTO ACCOUNT COMBAT CAPABILITY.

THE COMMON CEILING SHOULD BE ESTABLISHED AT LOWER LEVELS OF FORCES. THIS CEILING MIGHT BE SET AT APPROXIMATELY 700,000 SOLDIERS ON EACH SIDE.

THE PROPOSED COMMON CEILING WOULD CONTRIBUTE TO A MORE STABLE RELATIONSHIP AND TO THE STRENGTHENING OF PEACE AND SECURITY IN EUROPE BY ELIMINATING THE EXISTING DISPARITY IN GROUND FORCE MANPOWER. AT THE SUGGESTED LEVEL, EACH SIDE WOULD RETAIN SUFFICIENT DEFENSIVE CAPABILITY TO ENSURE ITS ABILITY TO DEFEND ITSELF

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AGAINST AN ATTACK.

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SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE

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FROM US REP MBFR

4. SCOPE AND TIMING

REDUCTIONS TO THE AGREED COMMON CEILING SHOULD BE NEGOTIATED IN TWO SUCCESSIVE PHASES, GOVERNED BY SEPARATE AGREEMENTS.

REDUCTIONS SHOULD IN EACH PHASE BE SUBSTANTIAL AND SIGNIFICANT, WITHOUT BEING SO LARGE AS TO BE UNMANAGEABLE OR INCALCULABLE IN THEIR EFFECTS.

5. SOVIET AND US GROUND FORCES

THE FIRST PHASE AGREEMENT SHOULD PROVIDE FOR REDUCTIONS OF SOVIET AND US GROUND FORCES IN THE AREA.

THIS WOULD BE IN KEEPING WITH THE PARTICULAR RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE USSR AND THE UNITED STATES FOR PRESERVING PEACE IN EUROPE AND THE WORLD.

6. SOVIET REDUCTIONS

THE USSR WOULD WITHDRAW FROM THE REDUCTION AREA A TANK ARMY CONSISTING OF 5 DIVISIONS, INCLUDING ABOUT 68,000 SOVIET SOLDIERS AND 1,700 MAIN BATTLE TANKS. THIS WOULD BE ABOUT 15 PERCENT OF THE
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TOTAL SOVIET GROUND FORCES OF 460,000 SOLDIERS IN THE REDUCTION AREA. THESE FORCES WOULD BE WITHDRAWN TO THE USSR AND WOULD NOT BE REPLACED.

THIS REDUCTION PROPOSAL IS DESIGNED TO REDUCE THE PRESENT LARGE DISPARITIES IN GROUND FORCE MANPOWER AND TANKS BETWEEN THE TWO SIDES IN CENTRAL EUROPE. THE EASTERN SIDE MAINTAINS 15,500 MAIN BATTLE TANKS IN ACTIVE UNITS IN THE AREA, WHEREAS THE WEST MAINTAINS ONLY 6,000.

THE REDUCTION OF THESE DISPARITIES WOULD BE A MAJOR STEP TOWARDS GREATER MUTUAL CONFIDENCE AND ENHANCED STABILITY, AND TOWARDS STRENGTHENING PEACE AND SECURITY IN CENTRAL EUROPE.

7. UNITED STATES REDUCTIONS

THE UNITED STATES WOULD WITHDRAW FROM THE REDUCTION AREA AN APPROXIMATELY EQUAL PROPORTION (15 PERCENT) OF ITS TOTAL GROUND FORCE MANPOWER OF 193,000 SOLDIERS IN THE REDUCTION AREA, I.E., ABOUT 29,000 SOLDIERS. THESE FORCES WOULD BE WITHDRAWN TO THE UNITED STATES AND WOULD NOT BE REPLACED.

THE EASTERN COAST OF THE UNITED STATES IS MORE THAN 5,000 KILOMETERS FROM THE DIVIDING LINE IN CENTRAL EUROPE, WHEREAS THE WESTERN BORDER OF THE USSR IS ONLY 650 KILOMETERS OVERLAND FROM THIS LINE. IN ORDER TO HELP OFFSET THIS GEOGRAPHIC DISPARITY, US SOLDIERS WOULD BE WITHDRAWN AS INDIVIDUALS OR IN UNITS, AND THEIR EQUIPMENT COULD BE STORED AND MAINTAINED IN THE REDUCTION AREA, AS THE U.S. GOVERNMENT MAY DECIDE IN BOTH CASES.

8. OTHER SECURITY ASPECTS ARISING FROM REDUCTIONS

AGREEMENT SHOULD BE REACHED THAT REDEPLOYMENT OF FORCES WITHDRAWN FROM THE REDUCTION AREA SHOULD NOT DIMINISH THE SECURITY OF THE COUNTRIES PARTICIPATING WITH SPECIAL STATUS.

9. ASSOCIATED MEASURES

IT HAS BEEN AGREED THAT ASSOCIATED MEASURES SHOULD BE INCLUDED IN THE SUBJECT MATTER OF THE NEGOTIATIONS. SUCH MEASURES, WHICH WOULD FORM AN INTEGRAL PART OF A REDUCTIONS AGREEMENT, WOULD BE IN THE INTEREST OF BOTH SIDES. AGREEMENT SHOULD THEREFORE BE REACHED ON MEASURES WHICH WILL:

A. BUILD MUTUAL CONFIDENCE AND ENHANCE STABILITY BY REDUCING THE FEAR OF SURPRISE ATTACK AND THE RISK OF MISUNDERSTANDINGS, FOR EXAMPLE THOSE ARISING FROM AMBIGUOUS MILITARY ACTIVITIES.

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B. PROVIDE FOR VERIFICATION THAT THE PROVISIONS OF ANY AGREEMENTS CONCLUDED ARE BEING CARRIED OUT.

C. ENSURE THAT ANY SUCH AGREEMENTS ARE NEITHER CIRCUMVENTED NOR UNDERMINED.

SPECIFIC PROPOSALS ON THE CONTENT OF SUCH MEASURES WILL BE ADVANCED IN THE COURSE OF NEGOTIATIONS.

10. PROVISION FOR A SECOND PHASE OF NEGOTIATIONS

THE FIRST PHASE AGREEMENT SHOULD INCLUDE AGREEMENT ON THE CONCEPT OF A COMMON CEILING FOR OVERALL GROUND FORCE MANPOWER ON EACH SIDE IN THE REDUCTION AREA, AS PROPOSED IN PARAGRAPH 3 ABOVE. IT SHOULD ALSO INCLUDE AGREEMENT ON CONTINUATION OF THE NEGOTIATIONS IN A SECOND PHASE, IN WHICH SIDE WOULD AGREE FURTHER TO REDUCE ITS GROUND FORCES IN THE REDUCTION AREA.

THE SECOND PHASE OF NEGOTIATIONS ON THE MUTUAL REDUCTION

OF FORCES AND ARMAMENTS AND ASSOCIATED MEASURES IN CENTRAL
EUROPE SHOULD PROVIDE FOR COMPLETION OF THE MOVEMENT TOWARDS
THE AGREED COMMON CEILING.HUMES

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